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TRENDS AND IMPLICATIONS OF CURRENT RESEARCH IN DIALECTOLOGY.

BY- BROZ, JAMES J., JR.

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LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN CHICAGO, DETROIT, LONDON, NEW YORK CITY, AND WASHINGTON, D.C. ARE REVIEWED. THEY SUGGEST ONE OF THE CURRENT TRENDS IN DIALECT RESEARCH--NARROW LINGUISTIC, INTERDISCIPLINARY ANALYSES OF LANGUAGE VARIATION IN CITIES. ANOTHER TREND STUDIED IS THE DESCRIPTION OF THE SPEECH OF STUDENTS IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, AND COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, WHOSE SPEECH IS SO SEVERELY DIVERGENT AS TO CAUSE ACADEMIC FAILURE. BOTH TYPES OF STUDY OPEN THE WAY FOR INCLUDING FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS OF LANGUAGE VARIATION DESCRIPTIONS OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC PHENOMENA, INCLUDING PARALINGUISTIC FEATURES. (AUTHOR)

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TRENDS AND IMPLICATIONS OF CURRENT RESEARCH IN DIALECTOLOGY

by

James J. Broz, Jr.

Center for Applied Linguistics

In October, 1964 the Education and Research Program within the Center for Applied Linguistics was formally organized to bring together four interrelated areas of applied linguistics in education: (1) all language-related research in progress; (2) theory and methodology in language teaching; (3) contributions of linguists to solutions to problems of Americans studying their native language in school (the Teaching of English as a native language), and (4) adult thinking about language matters and the shaping of that thinking in the American school curriculum. To achieve these objectives through the familiar techniques employed by CAL since its formation in 1959 (a clearinghouse operation,

publication, coordination, and research), the research staff, of which I am an associate member, necessarily must keep abreast of language-related research in progress related not only to foreign languages but to projects in social dialectology. Hence, it is part of our responsibility to promote the program's clearinghouse function on behalf of linguists, government and foundation personnel, school administrators, and teachers who often communicate with us with respect to the four areas mentioned. As one example of our responsibility in providing the dialectologist with information on social dialect studies, The Center for Applied Linguistics and the National Council of Teachers of English established in February, 1965 a Clearinghouse for Social Dialect Studies to bring together information and materials connected with current investigations of speakers of divergent dialects and school problems arising within such speech settings. I shall say more about this clearinghouse program later in this paper, but I want you to know that it is my intention here to serve a clearinghouse function as a reporter of current projects rather than as a dialectologist actively engaged in

investigating the divergent language of speakers of English.

I propose to review some current trends in the continuing study of language variation in the United States, discuss directions that future research could usefully take, and suggest some implications of these studies in progress for educators.

The Linguistic Atlas (1) opens the way and establishes the criteria for the study of American speech in a scientific manner. These investigations use questionnaires and other techniques for eliciting responses for the purpose of determining regional variations of a phonological and lexical nature. They significantly contribute to our understanding of the shift and regional characteristics of the lexicon and of spoken English through the delineation of dialect boundaries that serve as markers of geographically oriented regional speech characteristics. Moreover, the Linguistic Atlas studies serve as a guide for the study of speech and behavior in cities. By adapting the questionnaires of the Atlas and by creating new elicitation techniques to meet a more narrow linguistic investigation, linguists are describing

not only phonological, grammatical, and lexical features of urban speech, but their socio-linguistic consequences as well. The city study, then, describes language variation in relation to a social register for the purpose of delineating the degrees of variation in the speech habits of urban residents. The crisis of the city and the profound interest by government, foundation groups, and school systems, have made these studies necessary and possible. It is unlikely, however, that the conclusions reached by linguists currently engaged in these studies, will resolve the problems connected with the city alone. But it does seem clear that whatever else is done, without communication between presently conflicting groups in large cities and creative language arts programs in city schools problems there will fester and persist.

LANGUAGE VARIATION AND SOCIAL CLASS

The recently completed Chicago study by McDavid and Austin and others (2) entitled, "Communication Barriers to the Culturally Deprived," (1966), serves to explicate those features of language upon

which social judgements are made by long term and short term residents of Chicago. By modifying Jules Gilliéron's 1902-1910 Atlas Linguistique de la France and the revised Kurath, Davis and McDavid Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, the investigator made 50 taped interviews of the speech of adult middle-class and lower-class Negro and White residents of the city in order to determine points of social dialect cleavage between groups represented in the study. The idea that phonological features of indigenous Chicago speech are indicators for social judgements of an ethnic and social nature has already been advanced (3). The significance of the present study, however, lies in the conclusion reached as a result of evidence derived from phonological indices that mark socio-ethnic classes. For example, medial and final consonant loss in such words as forehead, left-overs, tube, and bag is evident in the speech of informants from lower-class White and Negro backgrounds whereas little consonant loss is recorded in the speech of middle-class White and Negro informants. Another part of the study lists the kinds of pronunciations of single words

that younger Chicagoans regard as either: rural/urban, weak/strong, pleasant/unpleasant, Negro/White, or uneducated/educated. Using 5 different pronunciations of 50 items (Chicago middle-class White; Chicago middle-class Negro; Chicago lower-class Negro; Southern reared middle-class White, and a Negro using Chicago middle-class White pronunciation) the raters, some 350 Negro and White students, representing a wide social and economic cross-section of the community, high school through the graduate level, consistently distinguish those pronunciations where low vowels and dipthongs occur in such words as: tired, five, four, borrow, and married as rural, strong, unpleasant, Negro, and uneducated.

With respect to pronunciation differences, the investigators conclude that, "differences between middle-class and lower-class White speech or between middle-class and lower-class Negro speech are much less easy to detect than differences between the speech of White Chicagoans and Southern Negroes. Moreover, the fact that middle-class White Chicagoans often identified as a Southern Negro the Southern

white control speaker suggests that for middle-class white Chicagoans any palpably Southern pronunciation is automatically registered as Negro, rural and uneducated though the speaker in question is city bred and the most highly educated of the speakers selected for the instrument. This kind of identification suggests that any educational application of this project should take two directions: (a) Since for the moment the strongly Southern pronunciation of the Chicago lower-class Negro constitutes a social handicap, it would be desirable to teach Chicago middle-class pronunciation to the children of this group beginning with Nursery School. (b) At the same time, as a part of education in human understanding, it would be desirable to include in the school English program, from a rather early period, something about the nature of language, the origins of dialects, and the variety of cultivated pronunciations to be found in the United States." (4)

As a result of William Labov's study entitled, The Social Stratification of English in New York City, (5) published this year by the Center for Applied Linguistics, five phonological variables (6) meas-

ured quantitatively on the lower East side of Manhatten were found to be regular and uniform even though phonological variation of a stylistic type is evident. For example, one of the variables (r) was found to be socially stratified and an essential part of the linguistic structure in the speech of New Yorkers. In one part of his investigation, Labov selected three large department stores, ranked in relation to prestige, prices charged, and fashions, to find out whether sales people reflect their customer's social stratification with respect to (r). He used a simple technique to gain data. An interviewer approaches a sales clerk and asks directions to a part of the store known to the investigator to be on the fourth floor. A casual response from a sales clerk would be, "Fourth floor." The interviewer would then elicit a more careful response by then saying, "Excuse me?" with the consequent reply by the clerk, "Fourth floor!" Labov confirmed the following hypothesis:

> salespeople in the highest ranked store will have the highest values of (r); those in the middle ranked store will have intermediate values of (r);

and those in the lowest ranked store will show the lowest values. (7)

From this and other data gained from his investigations, Labov suggests that, "If we sample the speech of individuals without controlling stylistic variation, the results are indeed chaotic, but when the speech of these individuals is charted along the axis of stylistic variation, a recurring first order structure appears...recurrent deviations redefine regular structure." (8)

While Labov determines that much code switching appears in the speech of New Yorkers who have plans for socio-economic self betterment, and further, that lower class New Yorkers change their speech as the occasion warrants, young Negro and Puerto Rican speakers, even though aware of the norms, values, and attitudes of careful speech, evidence less switching behavior as a cultural consequent of the structure of a juvenile vernacular in vogue in their community. Consequently, Labov in association with Paul Cohen, and Clarence Robbins, is engaged in a study entitled, "A Preliminary Study of the Structure of English Used

by Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City," (9) for the purpose of determining the extent to which variations of the features of Negro and Puerto Rican speech contribute to their failure in learning and using standard English, particularly in their failure in reading and writing classes in elementary school. It is especially apparent that far too many children from poor neighborhoods in cities fail to acquire those language art skills necessary to permit them to succeed in school (let alone to finish school) and to compete in the labor market. Such debilitative cultural factors as limited economic opportunity, geographic entrenchment and narrow social aspirations, certainly contribute to the problem of failure for these children. While similarly the apparently systematic divergent speech habits of these speakers tend to be in direct conflict with the speech of the dominant speakers in the community. Labov perceives two mutually exclusive linguistic causes for this; one concerns the linguistic features of speech (phonology, grammar, syntax and lexicon) that are so deeply internalized by speakers as to contribute active interference and resistance to the acquisition and development of those features

of language found in the dominant culture, e.g., because some Negroes do not control r, they do not hear it in class, respond to it in print, nor introduce it into their compositions. The second cause lies in a much more difficult but not insurmountable, at least in terms of research, area of value conflict between competing linguistic systems. A slum student may well possess an image of what careful, dominant speech features exist in his community and is capable enough in switching his verbal behavior to mesh with the socio-linguistic patterns connected with that community yet be at the same time unwilling to do so perhaps as an act of rebellion against adult authority. But precisely what attitudes these divergent speakers have toward the language in the dominant culture have yet to be advanced, delineated, measured and correlated in relation to their own linguistic behavior. It should be particularly noticed that the Chicago study and the New York study quite carefully record the reactions of the dominant culture to those phonological features and lexical items that serve as class and ethnic markers. The present study will do the reverse, that is determine what linguistic features appearing in

the dominant culture serve as class and ethnic markers for the speakers in the subculture.

With support from the U.S. Office of Education, The Detroit Dialect Study (10) is currently engaged in describing the language of several classes of residents now living in Detroit, including such groups as upper elementary and secondary school children, parents and grandparents. Speech features (phonological, lexical, and grammatical) will be compared between in-groups and out-groups relative to responses by Negroes, Jews, Southern Whites, Poles, Canadians and Mexicans now living in Detroit. Attitudes by informants to selected styles of speech presented by way of a questionnaire, will endeavor to determine how variously positioned Detroiters react to styles of speech. This phase of the study will assist the investigators in pinpointing those linguistic features of speech that act as ethnic-class determiners.

The investigators are concerned as well with determining the most efficient means of collecting data for city studies of this nature. The director of this study, Roger Shuy, in his proposal to the U.S. Office

of Education lists several current elicitation techniques currently in use. (11) The experiences of the fieldworkers with these devices will assist linguists there to refine and perhaps add to present fieldwork techniques in studies directed toward the cities.

Data collected will be coded and stored in a 3600 SDC computer. These data will be programmed in order to assist the investigators in preparing teaching material for use in the Detroit Public School System.

The Urban Language Study of the Center for Applied Linguistics, with support from the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation, has recently started an investigation of the speech of school children in Washington, D.C., most of whom are Negroes. (12) This study has three phases: The first is to describe the speech of elementary school children in relation to syntactic structures, and socio-linguistic features. The second is to prepare materials that will provide school children with an alternate language system, i.e., educated American. The third is to assist local educators in introducing the materials into the classroom.

Included in this study, is a concentration upon the language dynamic

relative to social situations, favorable and unfavorable reactions from various listeners to linguistic features of an ethnic, social or para-linguistic nature and a description of switching behavior both in terms of language switching and kinesic switching. U. L. S. is recording extensive variation in pitch levels and contour patterns. For example, Bengt Loman, a linguist from Stockholm, Sweden, has made some observations which show how the intonation patterns vary according to the status of the interlocutor; and he tries to describe more in detail which various patterns a child may use when he talks with playmates, parents, brothers and sisters, adults in authority, linguists and adult shop-keepers. It seems also likely that there may be variations according to the age of the informants. To show this Bengt Loman has used informants from three different age groups: six, ten, and fourteen.*

Research is proceeding to relate linguistic features in a single ethnic population to patterns of social behavior within the community at large, including a description of the cultural value system or systems present in relation to stages of language acquisition and development by

* data derived from free conversation and story telling.

speakers living in the community.

The significance of this study lies in the attention placed upon syntactic data received from young informants, 8 to 14. As the director of the study, Dr. Joey Dillard observes, "For syntactic analysis, it seems fortunate that recent transformational-generative emphasis upon the primacy of syntax as of basic linguistic importance concurs with the emphasizing of syntax by Creolists, many of whom are of a very different linguistic orientation. The use of younger informants clearly involves the Urban Language Study in sociological problems and responsibilities which make the operation of necessity much more than a narrowly linguistic investigation, but since almost all older speakers have learned a certain amount of code switching, it is necessary to use younger informants in spite of the difficulties presented." (13)

The Sociological Research Unit, Institute of Education, London University, under the direction of Basil Bernstein, began in January 1964, to check the validity of restricted and elaborated codes (14) in terms of social relations, in the broadest sense, cognitive development, and lin-

guistic complexity in relation to social stratification in east and south London. About 400 middle-class and working-class children between ages 5 to 8 from both public and private schools and data from interviews with their mothers comprise the subjects involved. Bernstein's preliminary research into the inter-relationships between social and linguistic patterns of behavior tends to suggest that linguistic code switching arises from "different social structures." (15) The significance of this experimental research for educators of slum children is profound indeed in that it may well be determined that life in the slums contributes not only to linguistic behavior but to how this behavior is organized and reacted to by speakers in such communities.

IMPLICATIONS AND TRENDS IN DIALECTOLOGY:

The studies reviewed, have one thing in common -- linguistic analyses of language variation among speakers in large cities for the purpose of pin-pointing those features of verbal behavior that mark race, level of education, and social position in the community. What are the implications? One is pre-eminent:

> Until teachers understand better the linguistic behavior of children whose language seems to differ from standard informal English, progress in instruction will be retarded. (16)

Though we are learning much about language variation among divergent speakers of English, applications of the results in schools raise serious problems. Consider, for example, the case of second dialect learning. What should the criteria be for selecting that variety of English for introduction into the classrooms? Thus far, several are advanced: (1) a variety used by successful speakers in the community; (2) a variety labled, "net work English;" (3) a variety that divergent speakers admire and look up to, and (4) a variety used by the educated members of the community. Each one is potentially explosive. The need for clarification, here, will involve linguists, educators, psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists in an inter-disciplinary effort before guidelines are established.

These studies suggest the trend in Dialectology: a micro-linguistic, inter-disciplinary description of speech in cities. But what of the future? I shall list briefly several areas where further investigation will serve to add to our knowledge of language and culture in the United States.

(1) Further descriptions are needed of the divergent speech of young speakers within a single sub-cultural environment to determine phonological, grammatical, and lexical variation wholly within that environment, and followed by

(2) a similar study of the speech of young speakers in another cultural environment, where speech approximates the standard, to determine points of cross-cultural difference and/or agreements between those linguistic features found in both segments of the community.

(3) Using Labov's model, "... of six stages of the acquisition of the full range of spoken English." (17) to derive data of the end product of the speech of young divergent speakers in sub-culture, an investigator would be in a position to describe the growth patterns of speech on the bases of either chronological age, school age, or social age for purposes of predicting precisely what linguistic features will occur during distinctive stages in the child's acquisition and development of speech.

(4) Associated with current descriptions of divergent speech, though of much more recent origin, lies those features of speech that

are called "... patterned tone-of-voice..." (18) or "... significant noises made by the non-articulated track." (19) which somehow or another serve not only to mark a speaker's social class, but as well his level of education, his place of birth, and his race. To the ears of a middle-class listener, for example, the speech of a speaker in sub-culture may be judged to be highly nasal, high-pitched, whining, over-loud, slurred, sing-song, or even something quite different. Paralinguistic features underlying these judgments require careful investigation. Descriptions of paralinguistic features carry relevance for classroom teaching. Alfred S. Hayes in, "Paralinguistics and Kinesics: Pedagogical Perspectives," reinforces this view by presenting one feature described by Martin Joos:

> ...it is theoretically sound to hold that a child <u>learns</u> to speak tiredly; that this is not an automatic biological mechanism. Conversly, the child learns, as part of his general task of enculturation, how to react categorically, conventionally, culturally, to the arbitrary signals of tiredness, codified in the culture, which he hears in another's voice...too much of our schooling is conducted in an atmosphere of unreality which is continuously signalled to the children by the teacher's voice in the paralinguistic code of the community. A frontal attack on this problem in the foreign language classroom will not only make more genuine the model utterances which the teacher offers; starting from there, it can lead ultimately to a general improving of all teaching. (20)

(5) Many people reach maturity without having command of educated American English either because their first language is other than Eng-

lish or because they grow up in a linguistic environment where Pidgin English forms the lingua franca of the community. Joshua A. Fishman and John Gumperz have recently started to measure and to describe bilingualism cross-culturally for the purpose of gaining evidence to suggest that regional and national bilingualism can be measured in relation to a single set of problems. (21) Concurrently, the, "Hilo Language Development Project," (22) under the direction of Dale P. Crowley, endeavors to teach bilingual Language Arts skills to monolingual speakers in grades K-3 by adapting linguistically oriented techniques used in teaching English as a second language, e.g., audiolingual drills, lessons, and tests. The First Quarterly Progress Report submitted to the U.S. Office of Education December 1, 1965 is most encouraging. (23)

(6) When students come to school with only marginal control of casual educated English, their progress in school will suffer. A thorough structural and contrastive analysis of phonology, grammar, and lexicon of the speech of these students will help to identify those

features that retard academic achievement and as well serve to contribute to a teacher's understanding about the precise nature of the linguistic problems involved. The study at Tougaloo College, Mississippi, (24) under the direction of W. Nelson Francis, for example, is intended to analyse the way Tougaloo students speak, in a manner I have already mentioned. Following this preliminary research, a decision will be reached for the selection of a second or target dialect which the study group believes the students should appropriately command as a second dialect. Materials are being prepared to introduce the second dialect by techniques now used in the teaching of foreign languages, e.g. oral-aural drills, taped reading and writing exercises, etc. This kind of study is to be encouraged while other investigations which seek similar objectives in elementary and secondary schools and in Job Corp Training Centers equally merit our attention and support.

I list only a few in the footnotes. (25)

NEWER SOURCES FOR INFORMATION ABOUT REPORTED RESEARCH IN DIALECTOLOGY:

I conclude this review of current research in Dialectology with a

brief note about the Clearinghouse for Social Dialect Studies and, inferentially, suggest sources for continued contact with research in speech, language, linguistics, and subjects generally related to human communication. The Clearinghouse began in February, 1965 as a joint instrumentality of the Center for Applied Linguistics and the National Council of Teachers of English to bring together information from projects centered at colleges, universities, and other higher institutions that are actively engaged in the study of language variation around the country. The first report entitled, Current Social Dialect Research at American Higher Institutions, was circulated to around sixty scholars in the United States in April, 1966 with the intention that it serve as a "current awareness" source for researchers engaged in the kinds of research described in it. Most of the projects listed in the first report came from an allied CAL information program, Language Research in Progress (LRIP), a series of six monthly reports that list all on-going language-related research. The reports from the Clearinghouse and from LRIP are available to research scholars on request to CAL.

Lastly, ERIC (Educational Research Information Center, initiated in 1966 by the Office of Education. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare) intends to serve as a national clearinghouse on current educational research on behalf of teachers, school officials, researchers, and persons affiliated with public and private organizations. To date, twelve decentralized clearinghouses, including Linguistics and the Uncommonly Taught Languages, housed at CAL, are developing procedures for selecting, abstracting, and indexing documents for transmission to ERIC-Central in Washington, D.C., for storage, retrieval, and dissemination. (26)

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(b) [illegible] and pre-[illegible]: [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] etc.

(c) [illegible] (ch) to [illegible]: [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] etc.

(d) [illegible] (ch) [illegible]: [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] etc.

(e) (ch) [illegible] of (ch) [illegible]: [illegible], [illegible] etc.

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[illegible] Hall, "Some Social Aspects of Pseudolanguage," in [illegible] p. 2 (cited in number 2, above); by [illegible] languages with some noises like "huh-uuh" are [illegible] meaning of "no".

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[illegible] and others, (University of Kansas), [illegible] [illegible] Department of English and Modern Languages, [illegible] Department of English, Education, and Welfare, [illegible] pilot program introduces bilingual skills to [illegible] (3) the Spanish American Rights and Responsibilities [illegible] but who cannot control the language arts skills of standard [illegible] and based upon techniques now used in the [illegible] of foreign [illegible] languages.

19. [illegible] Carol J. Chomsky, [illegible] Harvard University, [illegible], Cambridge, Mass., Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, September 1, 1969. For example, after three months of lessons [illegible] School of Initial and Medial /r/ and /l/] in such words as: [illegible] rabbit to evidenced in classroom and sometimes during [illegible] of these. The staff is also encouraged by the linguistic [illegible] demonstrated by the children, five through nine.

20. [illegible] Terrell, Daryl Daley, Robert L. Kendall, (Brown University), [illegible] Survey of Study for Dialectal Differences Among Negroes [illegible], Final Report, Project No. [illegible], Contract No. OEC-[illegible], 1968), supported in whole by [illegible] Research on Regional Dialectal Differences in Reading Vocabulary, April 11, 1969 (= perhaps a) Dialect Projects, or recently employed social dialect [illegible]; available to researchers.)

21. [illegible] (Center for Research on Language and Language Behavior, [illegible] Study of Standard Dialect of Negro [illegible] Report on Initial Research, Project Social Dialect [illegible]; see number 24 above.

[illegible] (Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta, Ga.), [illegible] (Office of Economic Opportunity Contract No. 1464, [illegible], November, 1967). Investigation of language problems of [illegible] Programs that raise barriers to employment [illegible] development of programmed learning materials for [illegible] purposes.

[illegible] (with [illegible] Burns, and others) (1968), [illegible] (Office of Economic Opportunity Research Project No. OEO-3-0-0-0-0), Washington, D.C., [illegible] of Health, Education, and Welfare, July 1, 1969-June 30, 1970; [illegible] to develop and to test methods of intervention that [illegible] the ability of children to use language. Children [illegible] study [illegible] are involved.

[illegible] (with [illegible] (University of Illinois), [illegible] (Public School Service [illegible] Project No. OEC-0-70-0, September, 1969-January, 1967); an investigation [illegible] by children in developing English vocabulary, particularly [illegible] age, receptive and expressive factors involved [illegible].

22. [illegible] Study [illegible] conducted by testing [illegible] Wisconsin, Milwaukee Center (1968), U.S. Office of Education, 400 Maryland Ave., [illegible] D.C. 20202. Information about this clearinghouse for [illegible] materials in English Languages may be obtained from Dr. [illegible] Applied Linguistics, 1717 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. [illegible], D.C. 20036.